

REPORT AND PROTEST  
TO THE  
Governor, the Legislature and the People  
OF THE  
State of New York

♦  
*Danger Confronting Popular Government*

♦  
The Daly Lobby and Propaganda  
and the so-called  
New York League for Americanism

♦  
*A Powerful and Perilous Influence*

Backed by the Upstate Associated Manufacturers and Merchants ("The Associated Industries of New York State"), this Combination Is a Menace to Progress Through Orderly and Intelligent Legislative Methods.

♦  
BY THE  
NEW YORK STATE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

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MARCH, 1920

# NEW YORK STATE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

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## REPORT AND PROTEST

To the Governor, the Legislature, and the People  
of the State of New York, By the New York  
State League of Women Voters.

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A REPORT TO THE GOVERNOR, LEGISLATURE AND PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK UPON THE DANGER CONFRONTING POPULAR GOVERNMENT IN THE LEGISLATURE AND PARTICULARLY IN THE ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE, ARISING OUT OF AN ORGANIZED LOBBY AND PROPAGANDA, KNOWN AS THE DALY LOBBY AND PROPAGANDA, BACKED BY THE ASSOCIATED MANUFACTURERS AND MERCHANTS ("THE ASSOCIATED INDUSTRIES OF NEW YORK STATE") AND PROMOTED BY THE SO-CALLED NEW YORK LEAGUE FOR AMERICANISM—THE COMBINATION BEING ONE THAT EXERTS AN INFLUENCE POWERFUL AND PERILOUS TO ORDERLY AND INTELLIGENT PUBLIC OPINION AT LARGE AND TO LEGISLATIVE OPINION AT ALBANY.

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**A**N INVESTIGATION undertaken by the New York State League of Women Voters has disclosed a condition in the public affairs of New York State of which the State's responsible elected officers and the public generally should be informed. This condition has come to our attention through a report whose findings are of grave significance. After consideration of the evidence on which this report is based and after due deliberation, we have decided to make public our findings.

Our investigation was undertaken not with the object of supporting any particular measures but to inform ourselves why such measures as we supported during the last legislative session could not get, particularly in the Assembly, consideration impartially on their merits. To inform the public of the results of our investigation transcends in importance, we believe, any other service that the New York State League of Women Voters might render at this time.

We have found that there exists in New York State a dangerous subversion not only of legislative opinion, but of public opinion as well. We have found a condition by virtue of which it is evident that it has been made exceedingly difficult for any

constructive social or industrial measure to get adequate and unbiassed consideration before either the public or the legislative opinion of the State, and we have found that the influences at work so far from being invisible, are flagrantly and cynically open and are rapidly becoming notorious.

We call the attention of our legislators and of the public generally to the fact that propagandism as created and financed by certain powerful, vested interests is assuming a highly potent, though unregulated, political and governmental function. Propagandism would seem, in fact, to be taking the place of political "bossism" such as ruled the State ten or twenty years ago. Since the people now have more or less direct control of party political machinery it has become impossible for one or two or three "bosses" at the top to command legislative action at will without regard for the possible resentment of the people. For the support of various little bosses, in or out of the Legislature, certain special interests have inaugurated a regime of pseudo-patriotic propaganda which has been used to confuse the people as a whole with regard to the real nature of such legislation as these particular interests may choose to consider "undesirable." Phases of this propaganda have even been used in a manner calculated to confuse the people as to what is and what is not reasonable and constitutional progress.

## I

### **Concerning the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants, Their Aims and Methods.**

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**T**HE DOMINANT obstructionist influence is an up state organization of some 1,600 members, the so-called up state Associated Manufacturers and Merchants, which has headquarters at Buffalo and which is just now changing its name to "The Associated Industries of New York State."

We are reliably informed that as early as last August this Association had raised a fund of between \$100,000 and \$200,000 for propaganda purposes and that this fund has been used for the support of the so-called New York League for Americanism, an organization which, though extremely active in "accelerating" pub-



lic opinion, has, in fact, no patriotic nor constructive objects beyond the particular and selfish ends of its sponsors.

The propaganda of this so-called League for Americanism, conducted under the pretense of patriotism, has been calculated to arouse, by unscrupulously false and misleading statements, popular prejudice against and misunderstanding of such a measure as that providing for workmen's cooperative illness insurance as well as other measures of human welfare. In view of information obtained by us we believe that this has been done, not primarily because of impracticability in the measures themselves, but with the object of making the measure an "issue" and of furthering the primary object of certain up-State manufacturers to obstruct as long as possible any progressive industrial legislation in this State and to establish a precedent at this time against such legislation—in a word, to make "horrible example" of such measures and their advocates.

It can scarcely be forgotten that leading members of this Manufacturers' Association vigorously opposed the Workmen's Compensation Law only a few years ago, though its members now subscribe to the measure in principle and admit that in operation it has bestowed benefits upon employers as well as upon injured workmen. It can scarcely be forgotten that in April of last year certain up-State employers protested at a joint committee hearing at the Capitol that the eight-hour law for women workers meant hardship, if not bankruptcy, for textile mills in the Utica district. They made a similar protest to Speaker Thaddeus C. Sweet at a conference at which they "commended him for refusing to let the eight-hour bill leave the Committee on Rules of which he was chairman." It was understood even then that the ruling legislative organization was undertaking to "protect" the textile industry of the State at the risk of alienating organized labor and the women voters; and since then it has been demonstrated that the claims upon which this demand for "protection" was based were false and groundless, for within a short time after inducing the legislative leaders "to take their view of textile industrial conditions, the employers voluntarily assume the handicap, as they called it, of a shorter workday, not merely for women workers, as the eight-hour bill provided, but for both men and women."

With regard to the manner in which these same employers thus demonstrated the falseness of their intolerant and arbitrary opposition to this eight-hour industrial legislation for women, we quote from the *New York Evening Post*, July 7, 1919, which, referring to the majority legislative leaders, said: They "feel that they have made their sacrifice, only to be betrayed by the men they sought to serve."

## Concerning Mark Daly, Lobbyist for the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants Whose Activities Are Increasingly Men- acing to the Welfare of the State.

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MARK A. DALY, lobbyist of the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants, backed by the funds and forces of obstruction and by his relations with certain influential members of the Legislature, aims to prevent the impartial consideration of such legislative measures as he sees fit to condemn. His methods are intended to defeat such measures before they even reach the floor of the Assembly.

Daly's influence and the influence of the Daly lobby are sustained by his misleading and inflammatory propaganda among manufacturers of the State and by the propaganda at large of his newly-created and pseudo-patriotic ally, the so-called League for Americanism.

We do not question the right of the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants to be heard at Albany. They have the same right as any other group to offer fair criticism, suggestions and intelligent information regarding proposed legislation. We do not doubt that originally the Association may have been established for mutual, perhaps even for public service, but we know that the members of this Association are busy men. We would not be surprised to learn that almost unconsciously they have allowed certain of their responsibilities as citizens to slip away from them into the hands of a lobbyist whose domineering tactics are more dangerous than the members of this Manufacturers' Association have had time to realize.

We ask the members of this Association seriously to consider whether the Daly lobby, by bungling obstruction to legislation that would create a basis of common interest and cooperation between employers and employees, is not jeopardizing their own best interests. Ultimately, we have no doubt, they will come to see that the methods of the Daly lobby are a kind of sabotage that is dangerous because likely to provoke some kind of retaliation on the part of the large public whose interests and welfare he jeopardizes.

It would seem futile to point out that Daly is a man of narrow vision, and in this matter we let his words speak for themselves.



Through his personal and official propagandist organ, *The Monitor*, in one of the editorials designated by Daly as "Monitorials," he recently informed the members of the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants that a woman candidate was opposing Speaker Sweet for election to the Assembly from Oswego, that another woman was running in Erie county and that several women were on the ticket in the metropolitan district. With reference to this situation, Daly asked the following questions:

"Who says women are not going to take politics seriously? How seriously will politics take women?"

And thereupon he offered by analogy a proposal which at once reveals the calibre and character of the man:

"IF WE WERE ASKED TO DRAW AN ANALOGY WE'D SAY THAT IF WE HAD A FRACTIOUS HORSE, AND AFTER WE'D FED HIM WELL, PAMPERED HIM, CODDLED HIM, TREATED HIM WITH EVERY KINDNESS AND ATTEMPTED TO TALK REASON AT HIM, HE STILL STOOD UP ON HIS HIND LEGS AND PAWED AT THE AIR, WE'D GET A RAWHIDE QUIRT AND HIRE THE BEST HORSEMAN WE KNEW AND THEN SCIENTIFICALLY AND FIRMLY LICK THE HELL RIGHT OUT OF HIM."

### III

## Concerning the Contact of the Daly Lobby and Propaganda with the Legislature.

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WE FOUND from the very beginning of the legislative session last year that Speaker Sweet's attitude and activities were exactly in line with the demands of the Daly lobby. The methods of this lobby and its control over legislation may be most strikingly revealed by the manner in which the bill amending the Workmen's Compensation Law was defeated last year.

This bill, known as the Martin bill, "to amend the Workmen's Compensation Law, generally," was drawn by the State Industrial Commission after a conference with both the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants and with the State Federation of Labor. In this conference Daly participated as a representative of the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants and agreed to the amendments proposed.

The bill was introduced in the Assembly on February 10, 1919, by Assemblyman Martin, then as now chairman of the Judiciary committee. The understanding was that since the measure had been agreed upon in conference it was to be acted upon at once, but after considerable delay the measure had not been reported out of committee. When Chairman Martin was asked the reason for this, he explained to supporters of the measure in conference that Mr. Daly had said the bill was "not to be moved."

Chairman Martin was then told of the agreement reached in the conference in which Daly had participated. Daly himself was again brought into conference. He explained himself by alleging that the bill was not as agreed upon in conference. Representatives of the State Industrial Commission then went over the bill with Daly, item by item, together with the minutes of the conference in which the bill had been agreed upon, and the lobbyist was forced to admit that the measure was as agreed upon to the last detail, though certain changes proposed at the first conference by Daly were now conceded by representatives of the State Federation of Labor.

With Daly, representatives of the group that had conferred on the measure then went to Speaker Sweet. It was explained to the Speaker that the bill had been agreed upon by all parties, and the Speaker said that such being the case the bill would of course go through at once. All parties to the conference then withdrew from the Speaker's room, but Daly immediately returned. **After this conference the bill was still held in committee.**

Some days later when Chairman Martin of the Judiciary committee was told that unless the bill was reported out those interested in the measure would be advised of the apparent effort to kill the bill in committee, he said he would see what could be done. Within two hours after this observation was made to Mr. Martin, the bill was on the floor of the Assembly. Thus, the bill which had been introduced on February 10, passed the Assembly on April 17, so that it went to the Senate two days before the end of the session. In the Senate the bill was tabled and on the last day of the session was blocked by being referred to the Senate Judiciary committee.

Other legislation to which the Daly lobby was opposed was kept from reaching the floor of the Assembly last year by discredited parliamentary devices under the control of the Speaker of the Assembly. Speaker Sweet invoked the archaic form of caucus rule to this end, and the extent to which he uses the power of his office to exact conformity on the part of Assemblymen to his notions as to what legislation should be allowed to reach the floor of the Assembly should be clear from what follows.



When Assemblyman Brady, who was last year a member of the Labor and Industries committee and is this year chairman of the same committee, was asked why he had not bolted the majority caucus that voted to hold in committee certain legislation which the Daly lobby was fighting, we are informed that he made the following assertion:

"If I had bolted I would have ruined my political future and wouldn't be appointed to any good committee next year. Assemblyman Slacer who bolted the caucus will be 'demoted.' He won't get any important committee assignments next year."

Assemblyman Slacer is a fourth-year assemblyman from Erie county. Realizing the discipline to which Mr. Slacer would be subject this year at the hands of Speaker Sweet, certain influential party friends of Mr. Slacer caused an intercession to be made with the Speaker before the opening of the Legislature, in Mr. Slacer's behalf. Mr. Slacer desired to be assigned to the "Insurance" and "Cities" committees and to such other committees as the Speaker might see fit.

Mr. Slacer's desire was denied. Though he would normally be entitled to a chairmanship of one of the Assembly committees in view of his length of service and the strong support he has in his own district, he has been assigned by the Speaker to the "Cities" committee and to "Electricity, Water and Gas," and to membership on no third committee at all. His assignments this year are obviously not to be regarded as important as those of a first-year man from Erie county who has been assigned to three committees including the "Insurance" committee for which Mr. Slacer had a preference. The appointments of a number of other Assemblymen from western New York who have served no longer than Mr. Slacer are regarded as more important than Mr. Slacer's assignments.

Regarding the matter of his committee assignments, we are informed that Mr. Slacer recently said:

"I think my poor appointments are definitely traceable to my action last year in voting for discharge of committee on the Eight-hour day and Living Wage bills, after the caucus, into which I did not go, had voted against letting these measures out of committee."

If the people of this State would know how affairs are to-day conducted in the Assembly, the following instance is also pertinent. We are informed that in conversation with a representative of the Consumers' League of Buffalo, Assemblyman Zimmerman explained why he did not withdraw from the Sweet caucus on the Eight Hour and Living Wage bills. We are informed that Assemblyman Zim-

merman declared that if he had refused to join with the caucus any bills that he himself had introduced "wouldn't have stood any show." We are informed further that he cited in illustration a bill to provide a park or playground for Tonawanda which the people of that locality very much wanted. With regard to that bill we are informed that he said if he had refused to join with the caucus it would certainly be "sacrificed."

Throughout the session last year we were not unaware of certain moves made by influential members of the Assembly that were likely to result in the defeat of legislation opposed by the Daly lobby. In supporting certain legislation we desired that the measures should be considered for what they were: non-partisan proposals. It was therefore suggested to Majority Leader Adler that he should designate the Republican Assemblyman to introduce the Living Wage bill for women, which was being introduced in the Senate by a Democrat. Majority Leader Adler said that he and Speaker Sweet would decide upon the member who should introduce the bill. To introduce this measure Speaker Sweet designated Assemblyman Bewley, who was last year Chairman of the Assembly Labor and Industries committee.

Knowing Bewley's anti-labor record, we were exceedingly reluctant to agree to his handling this measure, but under the circumstances felt obliged to consent. It was Adler who endeavored to give reassurance that the measure would get a "square deal," but at no time did we expect a square deal for this measure from Bewley, who had obviously been designated by the Speaker and whose intimate relations with Daly and the Daly lobby were well known.

Regarding Bewley we were informed not only of his anti-labor record, but of other facts that were matters of common knowledge. It was commonly known that, during his legislative career, Bewley was the intimate associate of Daly and it was commonly reported and believed, too, that this man, designated by Speaker Sweet to handle the measure to which the Daly lobby was opposed, was the room mate of Daly, sharing an apartment with him at the Hotel Ten Eyck.

We do not object to the obvious intimacy that exists between Daly and influential members of the Legislature. We do not object to Daly's inviting the chairman of any legislative committee whatsoever to share his hotel quarters. We do not object to Daly's "state dinners." We object to none of these things, but we do object to a situation where members of the Legislature are put in a position of desiring to requite, by a hostile and partial attitude



regarding legislation that is the concern of and affects the welfare of the whole people, "courtesies" extended them by the Daly lobby.

"Playfellows," we note, is the term employed by Daly to describe certain members of the Legislature. In his editorial organ, *The Monitor*, Daly recently referred to the fact that "Buck" Bewley (sic) and another Assemblyman were no longer members of the Legislature, and in this connection he took occasion to observe:

*"These were desirable and gentle playfellows."*

Daly should know whether he has found them such. Our conclusion is that "desirable and gentle playfellows" make undesirable and bad legislators.

The autocratic parliamentary methods used by Speaker Sweet against the chief welfare measures last year were adopted admittedly because it was generally believed that if the proposed measures reached the floor of the Assembly they would pass. In support of their position the Speaker and those most closely associated with him in the Assembly have asserted that their action was taken because of certain so-called petitions against the welfare bills. In view of this claim, it becomes necessary to give details of the circumstances under which signatures were obtained to the so-called petitions.

These so-called petitions were circulated among the employing establishments of central New York at the instigation of the Daly lobby in response to the exigency that was considered to exist in the Assembly. **Subtle methods of coercion were used in getting the signatures to these so-called petitions.**

It appears that the signatures were attached in the first place to a petition against the measure providing for workmen's cooperative illness insurance. At various times by various individuals, and particularly by Sweet himself in his campaign last fall, these so-called petitions have been referred to as evidence of an appeal by working men and women against welfare legislation generally. This collection of signatures has also been referred to as a "test vote," the results of which have been variously stated as 13,200 against and 112 for welfare legislation or 11,815 against and 112 for welfare legislation. In his campaign advertisements last fall Sweet declared that "12,000 women" had petitioned against the "welfare bills."

There is little doubt that, in the first instance, arrangements were made to accelerate the so-called petitions as an attack on the measure for workmen's cooperative illness insurance particularly and perhaps solely. There is no question but that at the time the so-called petitions were circulated representatives of



certain insurance interests opposed to any cooperative form of sickness insurance were especially active. Among these representatives were insurance men who have been closely associated with the work of the Daly lobby, such as John L. Train of Utica and William Gale Curtis, who is president of the Insurance Economics Society of Detroit, an organization which was formed to fight non-commercial workmen's sickness insurance and similar measures. We are further informed that in a debate before the Ohio Medical Society on May 7, 1919, Curtis, in trying to convince his audience that labor is opposed to the sickness insurance measure as proposed in New York State, distinctly gave his hearers the impression that he had participated personally in the collection of signatures to the so-called petitions circulated in Central New York. We are informed that he argued to this effect:

"We went to Utica and made a canvass of several plants and asked each man personally if he was for health insurance, and the result was 11,815 against the measure and 112 for it."

The signatures to the so-called petitions were obtained not only through the activity of men representing the insurance interests and the Daly lobby, but with the knowledge of majority members of the Assembly who needed support in view of the attitude they had arbitrarily taken against the chief welfare bills. Before the signatures to the so-called petitions were gathered, a member of the Assembly in referring to the fact that arrangements had been made to get the signatures for "a mighty big petition," declared that this would "cinch" the situation. In view of the discreditable use that is still being made of this collection of signatures, we here give in some detail a part of our information regarding the manner in which the signatures were obtained.

When it became apparent last year that Sweet and his associates would need "moral support" in getting the majority caucus to vote against letting the welfare bills out of committee, the machinery of the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants was set in motion at the instigation of the Daly lobby. Telegrams and letters were sent to manufacturers in and near Utica to prepare them for the work that was to be done. For the object desired, haste was necessary, and the work of gathering the signatures was accomplished in a few hours on a Monday morning and the result was sent to Speaker Sweet on the Empire State Express in time for his use in the caucus on Tuesday.

The so-called petitions came in every case from the officers of the various plants and in no case originated with the employees.



On Monday morning, after Daly had deluged the manufacturers with telegrams and letters informing them of what was to be done, foremen and superintendents received instructions to go through the mills and get signatures from employees, and in this manner, we are informed, subtle methods of coercion were used. Many employees have been questioned as to the manner in which the so-called petitions were presented to them and as a result of this questioning we cite the following information:

No effort was made on the part of the signature collectors to give fair and unbiassed information concerning the proposed measures. **Much false information was given workers who were asked to sign.** Many employees were told that the State under the proposed measure would compel them to hire certain doctors. In one plant a foreman took the poll, stating to employees that he opposed the measure and hoped they would also. This foreman elaborated on the expense and did not inform employees that their wives were protected or that dentists' bills were included as well as payment for time lost through illness. Similar methods were employed in other plants. **The canvass was everywhere taken by individuals who were prejudiced in advance against the proposed legislation.** In one instance in a certain factory in Utica where a number of Englishmen are employed, the so-called petition was put before employees with the remark:

"Here, you don't want any of this damned Lloyd George insurance over here, do you?"

The so-called petition was circulated widely among the unorganized women in the textile mills, and the manner in which it was done, is clear from the statement made by one of them:

"They told me it would come out of my pay, and I signed because I didn't want to support some dago's wife every time she had a baby."

We are informed that it was a common argument in presenting the so-called petition that if the measure was enacted the employees would "have to support some dago's wife every time she had a baby."

We are further informed that such pressure was brought to bear on the employees who were asked to sign that many of them feared they would lose their jobs if they did not sign. An employee of a certain plant has said that he was discharged for refusing to sign. He asserted his independence and was discharged, we are informed, either because his independence was offensive or because the manner in which he expressed his indignation at being asked to sign was offensive.

From the statement of a resident of Utica who was informed



by an Assemblyman on Sunday night that the petitions were to be circulated the following Monday morning in order to "cinch" the situation for the majority legislative leaders, we give the following:

"There is no doubt that the leaders like Speaker Sweet made a demand for this petition to bolster them up. That is tacitly admitted. There is no doubt that the workers knew little or nothing about the subject except what they had heard from propagandists like John L. Train (Secretary of the Utica Mutual Life Insurance Company) and others in the insurance business, who were very active at the time."

We are informed of the measures the Daly lobby has taken in concert with Babcock of the so-called "League" for Americanism to maintain control over the present legislative session. We have observed the expansion of their joint control both by legislative influence and by widespread and misleading propaganda. It is plain to us that Daly and Babcock, by such aids and alliances as they find opportune, are assuming to impose upon this State a minority dictatorship. They are assuming to impose the political demands of their particular group regardless of the will of the majority either in the Legislature or in the State at large and by poisonous propaganda to destroy the very basis of intelligent and democratic government.

#### IV

**Concerning the So-called NEW YORK LEAGUE for AMERICANISM Which Was Created by and is Financed by an Inner Circle of Prominent Members of the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants. The Active Director and Promoter of this "League" is C. D. Babcock, a Professional Accelerator of Public Opinion, Whose Methods Are Fast Becoming Notorious.**

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**T**HE PROPAGANDIST organization which was created by certain members of the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants and which has taken the deceptive name of the New York League for Americanism has headquarters at 471 South Salina street, Syracuse, and branch offices in Buffalo and New York City.



The Secretary and active director of this organization is one Carleton D. Babcock, a man who has long been employed by certain insurance interests to wage propagandist warfare against any form of workmen's cooperative illness insurance and other measures of human welfare. The treasurer of the so-called League for Americanism is C. A. Chase of Syracuse, formerly a president and now a vice-president of the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants.

The so-called League for Americanism was founded by members of the upstate Manufacturers' Association with the object of "accelerating" public opinion against certain humanitarian legislative proposals. The reason for the adoption of its name is apparent. We are definitely informed that a certain upstate manufacturer who claims to have participated in the organization of the "League" has described the Americanism feature of it as a "cat paw."

There is no question but that Babcock, the "League's" promoter, has had long experience and is particularly skilled in the kind of propaganda sponsored by the so-called League for Americanism. He was brought to this State and hired to act as Secretary of the League after his fight in California on behalf of certain insurance interests against legislation similar to that proposed in New York State. He was brought to this State for propagandist warfare in spite of the fact that the methods he used in California resulted in protests and denunciation on the part of such citizens as had become innocently associated with him there. We are informed by affidavits on this subject that Babcock's methods in California resulted in a "wholesale repudiation" of Babcock and his so-called California Research Society, with much criticism of Babcock on the part of those whose names had been used to support his work.

By the same affidavits we are informed as follows:

The organization Babcock created in California was known as the California Research Society of Social Economics, which had no other object than to make warfare against sickness insurance. In that campaign he was in the hire of the Insurance Economics Society of Detroit of which William Gale Curtis (who is also president of the National Casualty Company of Detroit) is the president. Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman, as "an unattached expert in economics," was one of Babcock's advisers in the California campaign, and before the campaign was over it was discovered that Hoffman is the statistician of the Prudential Insurance Company of America, Newark, N. J. Babcock himself repeatedly cautioned his



associates against mentioning his California organization in connection with the parent organization of Detroit.

The Insurance Economics Society of Detroit is an organization of certain insurance interests to fight any legislative measure providing for non-commercial illness insurance and similar humanitarian proposals. It works secretly, "donating" organizers, who go into various States "to align local interests, secure funds, form a list of vice-presidents, and wage the campaign by methods of press publicity, printed pamphlets, and a bureau of paid orators."

Babcock imparted information to his California associates that the Insurance Economics Society planned to wage similar campaigns in various states. "He told specifically of one meeting in Detroit, attended by seven of the leading insurance financiers of the country, at which one million dollars (\$1,000,000) was pledged for campaign and propaganda purposes."

Such is the man brought to this State to wage propagandist warfare in the name of "Americanism"!

While the so-called League for Americanism was established last summer with a fund of between \$100,000 and \$200,000 at the outset, there is reason to believe that it has since received many other contributions of considerable size together with funds from certain contributors who believed they were giving money toward some patriotic object. Babcock has sedulously sought to conceal the fact that mainly the contributors to the League are certain upstate manufacturers. He has refused on application to give the names of the officers of this so-called League for Americanism. He has even declined to name C. A. Chase as the organization's treasurer, though it has been revealed elsewhere that C. A. Chase, of Syracuse, is the treasurer.

To cover the real objects and activities of the Babcock organization, a well-known lecturer was recently started across the State to talk before trade groups and clubs on radicalism and its attendant evils. Certain individuals, stirred by the lectures, raised money for the purpose of continuing the lectures in various parts of the country. A check representing a sum of money contributed for this specific object was sent to the responsible financial officer of the so-called League for Americanism. This check was returned to the doner that it might be made payable to Babcock personally. When the lecturer, whose activities had been responsible for this particular contribution, learned what disposition was being made of the money he protested. To responsible officers of the so-called League for Americanism, he wrote letters and sent telegrams citing the fact that the money in question had been raised for a specific object and



asking if the League's sponsors were going to consent to misappropriation of funds.

Subsequently the money in question was returned, and it was necessary for a financial officer of the so-called League for Americanism to make the following formal admission:

"In answer to your letter, the Amsterdam funds have been returned to Mr.———. This as I understand it closes the matter as far as the New York League for Americanism is concerned."

That the facts regarding the term "Americanism," as used by the Babcock organization may be fully understood, we cite the following statement made by the lecturer who was formerly employed by the so-called "League" for Americanism:

"In the city of Amsterdam I was talking with a certain manufacturer and commented upon the work of the League for Americanism. At this he laughed, and said, 'You know the Americanism part of it is a joke.' I asked him what he meant. 'The League for Americanism,' he said, 'was organized primarily to kill off health insurance and other such fool legislation. The Americanism part of it is a catspaw.' I was amazed and asked him how he knew that. 'I ought to know,' he said, 'I helped organize the thing. Didn't you know?' I told him I didn't know anything about what he had just told me and that I wasn't working to kill off any legislation but for what I considered Americanism. 'Well, that's the big idea,' he said. 'You've saved the situation for us. You can go ahead and stir up sentiment on Americanism and other men will follow along after you to attend to the fool legislation.' Then and there, as a result of this conversation, I said I was through with the so-called League for Americanism."

With regard to the methods of this Daly-Babcock "League" we cite another instance and in this matter, as in all others, have the evidence in our possession:

In 1919, Babcock sought to employ an investigator who should commit himself in advance to the false and tricky views of the "League" regarding illness insurance, to accept a commission to go to England and from there write for American newspapers, articles to influence the "rank and file" of the working-class against the measure proposed in this State. It was specifically stipulated by Babcock in writing that the investigator should be "in harmony with our views," and in view of the manner in which this mission was to have been performed, it appears that the newspapers of this State would have innocently given space to the deliberately prejudiced findings of the "League's" investigator without knowledge of the fact that he was a paid and biased emissary of this so-called League



for Americanism. Babcock's attempt to get an investigator, qualified and disinterested, to prostitute himself to report adversely on the health insurance experience of England, was a failure.

It should be noted in passing that the same Frederick L. Hoffman of insurance connections, who assisted Babcock in California, later went to England and through the National Civic Federation and elsewhere is making adverse reports.

While it has been the custom of certain insurance interests to move Babcock from state to state to conduct his peculiarly insidious propaganda against any form of co-operative workmen's illness insurance and similar measures, we are informed that in this case, however, Babcock "has come to stay," and that he and the so-called "League" for Americanism are to be inflicted upon New York State permanently. We understand that certain of Babcock's sponsors are so well satisfied with the extent to which he has "accelerated" public opinion in this State that they plan to maintain the League permanently to wage its characteristic warfare against such legislative proposals as the League and its supporters may choose to consider un-American."

What citizens of this State whose Americanism is not a cloak to cover some private purposes of their own may think of this proposal, is well indicated in an editorial that appeared on November 30 in the *New York World* under the title "UN-AMERICAN AMERICANISM:"

"With headquarters in Syracuse, the New York League for Americanism calls for a 'million volunteers to fight un-Americanism wherever it appears.' In such a cause a million men may easily be enrolled if the people are satisfied of the League's specific purposes. But its first task, we are told, is to fight—what? Bolshevism? Bomb-throwing? Mob rule? No! To fight compulsory health insurance! Thus this self-styled defender of American institutions begins by tooting its trumpet for the assault upon a measure praised by many Americans of the purest type, which can in no sense be called subversive or dangerous.

"A good American can advocate health insurance. Another good American can oppose it. A third may conclude that it might be advantageous if well administered, yet doubt if the state is up to the task. But any one of the three becomes un-American when he attempts to make this debatable issue a test of patriotism."

What may be expected of a "League" thus branded as un-American if it is made permanent? Using its tricky methods to



the utmost, the "League" has already gone into one political campaign, and we are informed that in a recent interview Babcock boasted of the "League's" success in this sphere. The spite that animates this so-called League for Americanism is clear from the following statement which, we are informed, Babcock made to the lecturer formerly in the employ of the "League":

"You know we're killing off members of the Legislature who've been advocating the kind of legislation we're against."

We deplore the extent to which certain interests have come to rely on irrelevant and provocative propaganda for their specifically private and even selfish purposes. We particularly deplore the present tendency of such propagandist organizations to cloak themselves under the name of "Americanism." We know of no organization that uses more un-American methods than this Daly-Babcock "League," and we regard it as one of the chief obstacles in this State to any genuine Americanism.

It has misstated the effect and methods of operation of proposed industrial legislation. It has grossly exaggerated the cost. It has sought to lead industrial workers into believing that such measures would do them harm and deprive them of their individual rights, while, at the same time, it has devoted itself to rousing class antagonism by inciting among the farmers a belief that they would be heavily taxed for a measure that would benefit only industrial workers.

It has misled physicians and prevailed upon them to organize under the auspices of the "League" into so-called "Professional Guilds" by creating the impression that professional fees under the proposed workmen's co-operative illness insurance measure would be reduced as low as 50, 25, and even 6 cents, whereas it should be well known that the bill provides that professional fees shall be on a basis initiated by the various county medical societies.

The "League" has associated itself with and brought into its scheme of operation individuals who have been given to the most inflammatory and unfounded statements and innuendoes. In the form of so-called "boiler plate" it has repeatedly distributed to the numerous daily and weekly up-State newspapers propagandist material as false and misleading as any that could be devised.

The "League" has gained circulation for such statements not only through the press but through paid orators and has shown singular energy in hiring speakers to attack proposed industrial legislation on the basis of the League's own tricky assertions. It has particularly sought to create the impression that such legislation

is of pro-German and Bolshevik origin, and this allegation, whether made by Babcock or by paid representatives of his "League," by members of the so-called professional guilds that operate under the auspices of his "League," or by certain Senators and Assemblymen who derive political support from his "League," we denounce as unjustifiable and un-American, both untruthful and cowardly.

V

**"Why Are These Women Backing the Welfare Measures? Not to Benefit Any Class of People. They Lie if They Say So. It is All Part of the German Propaganda to Break Down the United States Government."**

*—From the Speech of Senator CLAYTON R. LUSK  
at Fulton, November 1.*

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THERE has been a singular conformity of method in the manner in which Senator Lusk of the Lusk Committee, Speaker Sweet and the so-called League for Americanism have sought to prejudice the public, in an inflammatory manner, against the proposed welfare bills.

In some respects it must be said that Senator Lusk and Speaker Sweet have gone even further than the so-called League for Americanism in seeking to arouse insidious conceptions of the proposed welfare measures and of the individuals who have supported them.

We quote from notes made at the time of Senator Lusk's speech at Fulton (November 1) in advocating Sweet's reelection to the Assembly:

"It was German Kultur that started the peace societies during the war. Now the same men and women have organized societies for promoting radicalism. It is a German Martens who is representing Bolshevik Government in the United States.

"MR. SWEET'S OPPONENT, MISS DICKERMAN, IS BEING FINANCED BY THE SAME DISLOYAL OUTFIT. They are the ones who advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by the confiscation of property belonging to the poor as well as the rich. You farmers here before me—you will have your very tools stolen from you. These are the



people who would overthrow marriages. They believe that every man and woman should consult their own immediate passions. They believe in no future life, no punishment for sin.

“WHY ARE THESE WOMEN BACKING THE WELFARE MEASURES? NOT TO BENEFIT ANY CLASS OF PEOPLE. THEY LIE IF THEY SAY SO. IT IS ALL PART OF THE GERMAN PROPAGANDA TO BREAK DOWN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. . . .

“This Sweet campaign is not a local issue. Tad Sweet, Speaker—there’s only one State office ahead of it in power—the Governorship.

“If Tad Sweet is beaten it will not be regarded so much as the Republican party being beaten but Oswego County beaten,—you’ll lose your powerful officer.

“My God! What a calamity if he were beaten!”

## VI

### Concerning the Use Made of the Lusk Committee’s Prestige to Prejudice Public Opinion, in an Inflammatory Manner, Against Proposed Welfare Legislation and the Advocates of Such Legislation.

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A DELIBERATE, undisguised and widespread effort has been made to create the impression that well-considered and temperate legislative proposals for human welfare are “symbolic” of and in some way connected with Bolshevism. Speaker Sweet has made unqualified statements to that effect. We have already shown that the speakers, the pamphlets and the press propaganda of the so-called League for Americanism, backed by the Daly lobby and an inner group of the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants, has widely and generally availed itself of this method of misrepresentation.

We are surprised and indignant now to find that, in the same way, the prestige of the Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities has been used to inculcate similar insidious conceptions with regard to these measures for human welfare and with regard to the advocates of these measures.

From evidence in our possession it appears that the prestige of the Lusk Committee, backed either by public or private funds, has

been used in such a way as to stimulate the belief that the welfare bills are in some way connected with Bolshevism. From similar evidence it appears that some one presuming to speak for the Lusk Committee has even sought the financial aid of the unscrupulous, so-called League for Americanism, to further this kind of unauthorized and extraordinarily partisan propaganda.

As early as August 21, 1919, the Western Newspaper Union, whose distributing list comprises 571 daily and weekly up-State newspapers, circulated in the form of "boiler plate" an article advertising the work of the Committee and a particular member of the Committee. Special attention is directed to this article because the method of its distribution was exactly similar to that of an article which was likewise formally attributed to the Lusk Committee and which used the prestige of the Committee to give added weight to an indiscriminate and prejudiced condemnation of the welfare bills.

The printed copy of this "boiler plate" matter carried, as required, a statement at the top as to the source and authorization of the article. This statement read:

"PLATE OF THIS MATTER IS SENT YOU WITHOUT CHARGE UPON ORDER OF THE NEW YORK STATE JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE SEDITIOUS ACTIVITIES. METAL REMAINS OUR PROPERTY TO BE RETURNED IN THE USUAL MANNER.

"WESTERN NEWSPAPER UNION.

"RELEASED FOR USE ON AND AFTER THURSDAY, AUGUST 21."

Similarly, without charge to recipients, the Western Newspaper Union distributed throughout the up state districts an article which purported to relate to alleged preliminary investigations of the Lusk Committee regarding Bolshevism. This article contained a preponderating amount of matter in condemnation of the proposed welfare bills. The real object of the article was plainly something other than it purported to be, and the source of this article, as in the case of the article described above, was unqualifiedly attributed to the Lusk Committee.

In the face of this stated responsibility of the Lusk Committee, we are surprised to find that in the headline of the article appeared the statement: "HEALTH INSURANCE BAD." In the first column of the article appeared matter, mingled with what purported to be the result of preliminary investigations of the Lusk Committee, telling why the proposed measure for workmen's cooperative illness insurance was "bad." In the second and third columns appeared statements regarding the Eight-hour and Living Wage bills to show that they were "bad."

We have naturally been reluctant to believe that the Lusk Com-



mittee or any member of the Lusk Committee could be responsible for using the Committee's prestige or the Committee's funds for such flagrant and unauthorized objects. We find that as recently as November 1, an article employing the same tricky methods of deception and prejudice as those devised by the so-called League for Americanism was distributed widely to the upstate newspapers. The extraordinary character of this article would seem to merit consideration in detail.

The headline of this article, as it appeared in the *Rochester Times* of November 1, read:

**"HEALTH BILL IS BOLSHEVISM, DECLARES LUSK—  
Chairman of Legislative Committee Says It Would Place  
Burden of Caring for the Improvident Upon Shoulders of  
Workers."**

The "lead" of this article reads:

"New York, Nov. 1.—Senator Clayton R. Lusk, chairman of the New Legislative Committee investigating Bolshevism and kindred subjects, intimates that so-called social welfare legislation, when ill-considered, was merely additional ammunition for the enemies of the nation who are also the enemies of society. Senator Lusk emphatically declares that there are traitors at work in this State, heavily financed and cunningly advised, whose avowed object is the overthrow of the present form of government. It was in this connection that Senator Lusk called attention to certain social welfare legislation as it has been proposed."

The balance of this long interview or statement was composed chiefly of a discussion of arguments against the measures providing for workmen's cooperative illness insurance, for an eight-hour day for women and for a living wage for women. These arguments in that they were designed to prejudice working men and women against such measures were of a kind exactly to satisfy the aim of the so-called League for Americanism in influencing the "rank and file of the people." The interview or statement by Senator Lusk closed with a laudation of Speaker Sweet which included the assertion that "to lose the benefit of his experience in these critical times would be regarded as a calamity."

In an effort to ascertain the exact origin of and the responsibility for the distribution of the matter that mixed the alleged preliminary investigations of the Lusk Committee with an attack on the welfare bills, we obtained information indicating that the so-called League for Americanism might have been responsible. Accordingly, we have inquired of Babcock, the secretary of this



"League," and find that even he resents the imputation of responsibility for the distribution of such extraordinary press matter.

We give the substance of Babcock's assertions in this connection:

"THE LEAGUE FOR AMERICANISM DIDN'T PAY FOR IT, BUT I THINK I KNOW WHO DID. IT WAS PUT UP TO THE LEAGUE FOR AMERICANISM. WE HAD A CHANCE TO PAY FOR IT, BUT WE DIDN'T. IT COULD HAVE BEEN MADE SO WE WOULD HAVE BEEN GLAD TO PAY FOR IT. THE WAY IT WAS PUT UP IT WAS PARTISAN POLITICAL STUFF.

"THIS IS THE FIRST TIME I EVER HEARD ANYTHING WAS WRONG WITH THE LUSK REPORT. NO, I'M NOT GOING TO TELL WHO DID PAY FOR IT UNTIL I KNOW MORE ABOUT WHO IT IS THAT'S CRITICISING IT. IT WAS PARTISAN POLITICAL STUFF. WE DIDN'T HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH IT."

The gravity of the assertions made by Babcock with regard to the distribution of matter which was unqualifiedly attributed to the Lusk Committee and which was obviously designed to achieve some object entirely unrelated to the authorized objects of the Lusk Committee, is such that we would be reluctant to give full credence to the assertions made by him and quoted above. In view of his assertions, however, we feel obliged to ask:

What responsibility had the Lusk Committee or any member of the Lusk Committee or any person associated with the Lusk Committee for the distribution of matter referring to so-called Lusk investigations and designed to inflame public opinion against the chief welfare measures and their advocates? What funds, public or private, were used to pay for such misleading publicity of a kind utterly remote from the authorized objects of the Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities?

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## Conclusion

We declare our indignation at the trickeries and deceptions we have found through our contact with political life. Our protest is the more unqualified in that we find such subterfuge used to hamper human progress and to make impossible a reasoned adjustment of problems confronting the State.

We are fully aware of the grave implications of the conditions outlined above, and, at any proper time or place, we are prepared to make public the many additional facts and data now in our possession. Meanwhile, we trust and believe that the sense of responsibility of the Legislature and of the people must be too great for them to permit such unwarranted conditions to continue.